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Elizabeth L'Estrange

Beyond the 1520s: A Bellemare Workshop Manuscript in Liège (ms. Wittert 29)¹

Abstract

This article considers a Book of Hours, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29 which was noted by Myra Orth in a footnote to her 1988 article on the 1520s Hours Workshop. Wittert 29 is a hybrid Book of Hours the central section of which contains ten miniatures that bear a close relationship to a group of manuscripts produced in the 1520s, identified by Orth and now associated with the workshop of Noël Bellemare. The complex composition and codicology of Wittert 29 is analysed before its relationship to other Bellemare manuscripts is explored, in particular the significance of the elaborate Bellifontaine-style frames which enclose the miniatures. These frames suggest that Wittert 29 was produced in 1540s, thus making it an important link between the end of the workshop's main period of production and the creation of later manuscripts in which the workshop's artists had a hand, such as the *Dinteville Hours* (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 10558) and the *Recueil des rois de France* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2848).

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In her 1988 article, “French Renaissance Manuscripts: The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles”, Myra Orth set forth evidence for a French workshop that produced some twenty richly-illuminated manuscripts, mainly Books of Hours, from about 1524 to 1530.² In her study, Orth noted the

1 I would like to thank to Guy-Michel Leproux for generously sharing his thoughts on the Bellemare corpus and for letting me read a prepublication copy of his article “Jean Cousin et le vitrail” in the catalogue of the exhibition *Jean Cousin père et fils. Une famille de peintres au XVI^e siècle*, ed. by Cécile Scailliérez, Paris, 2013, pp. 102–123. (Louvre, 17 October 2013–13 January 2014). Thanks also to Maxence Hermant at the BnF, and Hanno Wijsman at the IRHT in Paris. Elizabeth A. R. Brown provided much advice and encouragement. Finally many thanks to Holly Wain, my undergraduate research assistant at the University of Birmingham, and Cécile Oger at the University of Liège, whose on-going help and expertise in researching this manuscript have been invaluable.

2 Myra D. Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts: The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles”, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, vol. 16, 1988, pp. 33–60. The posthumous publication of Orth's catalogue *French Renaissance Manuscripts: The Sixteenth*

“remarkable consistency of format, script, and decoration [...] which characterizes the [manuscripts]” and the “incessant intercopying, use of the same figural motifs, and dependence on identical compositional models”.³ These figural motifs and compositional models show the influence of Antwerp mannerism, the engravings of Albrecht Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi, and the work of Raphael amongst others.⁴ Orth identified many of the hands responsible for the miniatures produced by the 1520s Hours Workshop, naming them after the manuscripts with which they are principally associated. For her, the lead miniaturist was the Master of the Getty Epistles, responsible not only for the manuscript from which he takes his name, but also for the *Hours of Anne of Austria* and a Book of Hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library.⁵ Another Book of Hours in the British Library, Add. Ms. 35318, she attributed to the Assistant of the Master of the Getty Epistles and in a footnote went on to state that “[a]n Hours in Liège, University Library, Wittert Collection Ms. 29, [...] duplicates the British Library Hours to a great extent, but the miniatures are enclosed in distinctly Fontainebleau-style strapwork frames, dating the manuscript in the 1540s. I have not seen this codex”.⁶ Despite not having seen Wittert 29, Orth also attributed it to the Assistant of the Master of the Getty Epistles in the appendix to her article.

Apart from the brief mention in Orth's article and a few references that derive from this, the manuscript in Liège is unknown. However, the ten miniatures it contains are of an exceptionally high standard and indeed make use of the same patterns found in other 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts. However, Wittert 29's relationship to the corpus as established by Orth and since studied by Guy-Michel Leproux, requires further analysis, not simply because of the inclusion of the “Fontainebleau-style frames” but also because of the script used and the problematic composition of the entire manuscript. As there is not space here to consider all these aspects, this article will focus primarily on the frames that surround the miniatures. It will first revisit the corpus to highlight recent work by Leproux and then it will set out

Century was forthcoming with Brepols at the time of writing. I have therefore been unable to verify if Orth retained the same attributions posited in her 1988 article or if she makes further reference to Wittert 29 or to the miniature book formerly in the collection of Paul Durrieu, discussed below.

3 Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts”, p. 40.

4 Leproux, *La Peinture à Paris sous le règne de François Ier*, Paris, 2001, p. 112.

5 *Getty Epistles*: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig I 15; *Hours of Anne of Austria*: Paris, BnF, ms. NAL 3090; *Morgan Hours*: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. M. 452.

6 Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts”, n. 16. Orth notes that the Liège manuscript was “discovered by D. Farquhar” [*sic* for James D. Farquhar?] and that there is a note in the Walters Art Gallery file (of ms. W. 449?). The Walters Art Gallery have no record of any note and I have not been able to verify this with Professor Farquhar.

some of the codicological characteristics of Wittert 29 which are essential for an understanding of the manuscript as a whole. Then we will consider the decoration and possible genesis of the Wittert manuscript in relation to other sources including engravings and another manuscript whose location is currently unknown. By analysing new sources as well as reconsidering known ones, we can begin to carve out a context in which the Liège manuscript – which otherwise appears anomalous – was produced. This, in turn, should open up the debate about the workshop's production beyond the end of the 1520s. This study is thus a preliminary step in understanding a very complex codex. On-going photographic campaigns, infrared reflectography of the compositions, and technical analysis of the palette in comparison with other manuscripts should produce further results that will help to refine the interpretations offered here and which may, eventually, help attribute the manuscript to a particular artist.⁷

Revisiting the corpus

Orth's work on the 1520s Hours Workshop has been revisited in the last decade by Leproux, who has refocused study of the atelier's production around the figure of Noël Bellemare.⁸ Bellemare is documented in 1512 in Antwerp, where he received his initial training, and then later in Paris, where he worked as an illuminator, painter, and designer of stained glass. His only authenticated work, however, is the designs for the south rose window of the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. Records also show that he received payment for gilding the ceilings at Fontainebleau in the 1540s.⁹ Given the fact that the shared elements of the 1520s Hours Workshop artists can all be found in cartoons attributed to Bellemare, Leproux has argued that Bellemare

7 A long and more detailed study is planned in co-authorship with Cécile Oger in which all the miniatures will be reproduced.

8 See Guy-Michel Leproux, *Peinture*, as well as idem, "Un peintre anversois à Paris sous le règne de François Ier: Noël Bellemare", in *Cabiers de la Rotonde*, vol. 20, 1998, pp. 125–54; and idem, "Les peintres et l'enluminure à Paris au XVI^e siècle", in *Peindre en France à la Renaissance*, ed. by Frédéric Elsig, Milan, 2011, pp. 59–69. Leproux's identification has been widely accepted by manuscript specialists and holding libraries who now prefer Bellemare group or workshop to 1520s Hours Workshop and these terms are adopted from hereon in.

9 Leproux, *Peinture*, p. 111. The payment is described as "pour ouvrages de peintures, doreures et estoffements qu'ils ont fait de neuf aux poinçons, enhurures, enfestoneurs, clers voyes et ès pendans de plomberie de pavillons et édifices dudit Fontainebleau". There is also a payment "Aux vefve et héritiers du feu Noël Bellemare, maistre peintre [...] pour les ouvrages de peintures et doreures faits aux ouvrages de plomberie, faits ausdits édifice et bastiment", see Léon de Laborde, *Les comptes des bâtiments du roi (1528–1571)*, Paris, 1877, 2 vols, I, pp. 188–89.

headed the workshop and provided it with models and sources.¹⁰ Identification of Bellemare himself with Orth's lead miniaturist, the Master of the Getty Epistles, is complicated by the latter's work being found in manuscripts that post-date Bellemare's death in 1546. As a result, Leproux has recently proposed that the works attributed to the Getty Master and his close collaborator, the Master of Henri II, be revised.¹¹ It is not my aim here to propose any firm identification of the hands responsible for Wittert 29. However, Leproux's reassessment, to which we shall return, not only reveals the immense difficulty of distinguishing between some of the hands in the corpus, it also, conversely, raises the eventuality of identifying the Wittert artist(s) through a combination of dating, style and execution. Let us turn now to the physical make-up of Wittert 29 since it is important to understanding its codicology prior to examining its stylistic aspects.

Wittert 29: Physical Characteristics

Wittert 29 was bequeathed to the University of Liège by Baron Adrien Wittert in the early 20th century. The University catalogue notes its provenance from the collection of Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leurius (1886) and a note in pencil on the fly-leaf indicates that in 1852 it was purchased at a sale in Mechelen for the sum of 473 Belgian Francs.¹² A full collation of Wittert 29 is given in the Appendix: it will be noted that the majority of the codex (fols. 1–69v) comprises what can be loosely described as a Book of Hours written in two different hands, which I have termed A and B. Both hands present a *hybrid textualis* that has humanistic elements such as the rounded “a” but both differ markedly in quality and consistency from the neat, roman or cursive hands found in other 1520s manuscripts.¹³ Although Hand B appears more competent than Hand A, it remains messy in places and contains a number of errors which may suggest that this is not a professional scribe.¹⁴ Hand A has written

10 Leproux, *Peinture*, p. 137.

11 Leproux, “Les peintres et l'enluminure”, pp. 63–64.

12 Joseph Brassine, *Catalogue des manuscrits légués à la bibliothèque de l'Université par le baron Adrien Wittert*, Liège, 1910, pp. 55–56; P. Génard and A. Goovaerts, *Les collections Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leurius à Anvers. Volume V. Catalogue des manuscrits*, Antwerp, [1886], p. 6, no. 34 (no further provenance is given). Thanks to Rachel Brett at the British Library for providing a copy of this catalogue. The manuscript's fly-leaf reads: “Gekogt tot Mechelen op 29 january 1852, in den koopdag van wylen Mevrouw De Bois. Voor koopsomme fr.430,00 10%, fr. 43,00 = fr. 473,00.” Brassine's catalogue entry takes no account of the codicology, the differences in the hands, or the additional leaves.

13 See Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts”.

14 Thanks to Marc H. Smith for his observations on the hands of Wittert 29. He highlighted the fact that both hands A and B have written their own rubrics, which may further imply that the text was not professionally produced. Examples of scribal errors in Hand B include

the opening folios (fols. 1–6v: *Domine Jesu Christi adoro te* and *Obsecro te* prayers) as well as the last three quires and a singleton (fols. 55–69v: end of Compline, Penitential Psalms, Litany). The sections in Hand A are not illuminated although space has been left for initials, some rubrics, and two miniatures. The central quires (fols. 7–54v) containing the illuminations are written in Hand B and consist of the Gospel of St John as well as the Hours of the Virgin with the Hours of the Cross and Holy Spirit intercalated. However, it is important to note that the section in Hand B stops abruptly in the middle of Compline on fol. 54v: the last word on fol. 54v is *lu-* and a catchword indicates that the entire word is *lumen*. It is Hand A that completes the word at the top of fol. 55, continuing, as noted above, with the end of Compline and adding the seven Penitential Psalms and a short litany. As indicated by the catchword, it would appear that subsequent quires (and perhaps illuminations) in Hand B once existed but have been lost. Those quires written in Hand A were thus deliberately added as a way of completing the unfinished section by providing some of those texts usually found in *horae*.¹⁵ This may have happened at a date not much later than the execution of the illuminated section since not only are Hands A and B broadly contemporary, but the binding of brown calfskin with a central medallion and stylised florets in the corner appears to date from the very late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹⁶ Wittert 29 also contains three final folios (fols. 70–73v) in yet another hand, an elegant late *bâtarde*, which begin imperfectly with a prayer in French, followed by its Latin translation.¹⁷ To judge by the script, language, and ruling, these folios originally belonged to another sixteenth-century manuscript. Their inclusion at the end of Wittert 29, together with the rest of the *horae* section, raises further ques-

“De spiritus sanctus” at the opening of the Hours of the Holy Spirit instead of “De spiritu sancto” or “Hor(a)e spiritus sancti” (fol. 32; see ill. 1). The scribe’s use of abbreviations also do not follow convention, with “habitatione” abbreviated to “h(abit)atione” instead of “h(a)bitatione” (fol. 49v) and “spiritui” abbreviated to “spitui” rather than “sp(irit)ui” (fols 49v–50). Above the miniature on folio 37, the “Ut supra” and “Ad terciam” appear to be added as an afterthought. Such scrappy additions in a thinner pen appear at several other points in the text (see ill. 12).

- 15 Although it is notoriously difficult to speak of “standard contents” in Books of Hours, Wittert 29 nevertheless remains far from complete: it not only lacks a calendar, but most significantly there are no suffrages or Office of the Dead, which are key elements of *horae*. However, the sections that are included – in both hands – are coherent. They follow closely the Latin text that appeared alongside the English translation in *The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English* published in Antwerp by Arnold Conings in 1599 (available online: <http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/home.htm> accessed 8 March 2013).
- 16 This is a style found, broadly, in the Southern Netherlands and Northern France. I am very grateful to Philippa Marks, Mirjam Foot and Rens Top for their comments and advice on the Wittert binding.
- 17 Folio 70 begins “que je suis votre serviteur”.

tions about how or why the manuscript came to exist in its current state. However, leaving these questions to one side, let us turn now to the focus of the present study: the illuminated section itself and its place in the Bellemare group.

The Decoration of Wittert 29

As Orth and Leproux have shown, it is clear that the artists of the Bellemare group shared a pool of models and patterns which they continuously reused and adapted. Comparing some examples from Wittert 29 to others in the corpus it is quickly evident that the artist of the Liège miniatures had access to the same sources.¹⁸ As Orth noted, the Wittert miniatures share similarities with certain miniatures in the British Library Hours, having the same composition for the miniatures of *Pentecost* (ill. 1, plate 8), the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Flight into Egypt*; the British Library *Visitation* (ill. 2) is also compositionally close to the Wittert *Visitation* (ill. 3). Wittert's *Crucifixion* (ill. 4) and *Coronation of the Virgin* (ill. 5) are also comparable to those in the *Morgan Hours* and the *Hours of Anne of Austria* which Orth assigned to Master of the Getty Epistles and his assistant, although there is some slight variation in the stance of the figures.¹⁹ Other scenes in the Wittert manuscript draw on models found in other manuscripts in the corpus. For instance, the Wittert *Presentation* (ill. 6) echoes those found in the *Rosenwald Hours* and in the *Hours of Anne of Austria* and all of these miniatures seem to have a common source in Dürer's engraving of the same scene (c. 1503–1505, ill. 7).²⁰ Parallels with the rest of the corpus are also observable in the manner in which the miniatures have been executed. For instance, the Liège artist often uses very fine *ton-sur-ton* cross-hatching on fabrics and highlights on hair, and fine grey cross-hatching on flesh tones; he also gives a fine peachy blush to the cheeks. These elements can be seen in the *Crucifixion* on St John's hair (ill. 8), on Christ's body and on the Virgin's face. We find the same method, for instance, in the *Hours of Anne of Austria* and the *Dutuit Hours*, to which we shall return (ill. 9).²¹

18 Due to space and reproduction costs, it is not possible to print all comparative images here but online resources have been indicated where possible.

19 Images from the *Morgan Hours* are available through the library's Corsair catalogue.

20 *Rosenwald Hours*: Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Rosenwald, ms. 10. The entire *Rosenwald Hours* is available online at http://lcweb2.oc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?colIID=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001_2003rosen0014page.db (accessed 7 November 2013)

21 *Dutuit Hours*: Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection, ms. 37. A single leaf of the *Crucifixion* (c. 1545) now in the Louvre offers a more striking point of comparison: although the artist has drawn on the same models, he has executed them in a much looser manner, leaving the outlines much more visible and highlighting facial features such as the eyebrows, the top eyelid, and the pupils with dark, sketchy strokes. Cécile Scaillièrez suggests that this artist was probably trained in the circle of Bellemare but was also familiar with the work of later



ill. 1: Pentecost, Book of Hours, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 32



ill. 2: Visitation, Book of Hours, London, British Library, Add. ms. 35318, fol. 32v



ill. 3: Visitation, Book of Hours, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 22



ill. 4: Crucifixion, Book of Hours, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 31



ill. 5: Coronation, *Book of Hours*, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 52v

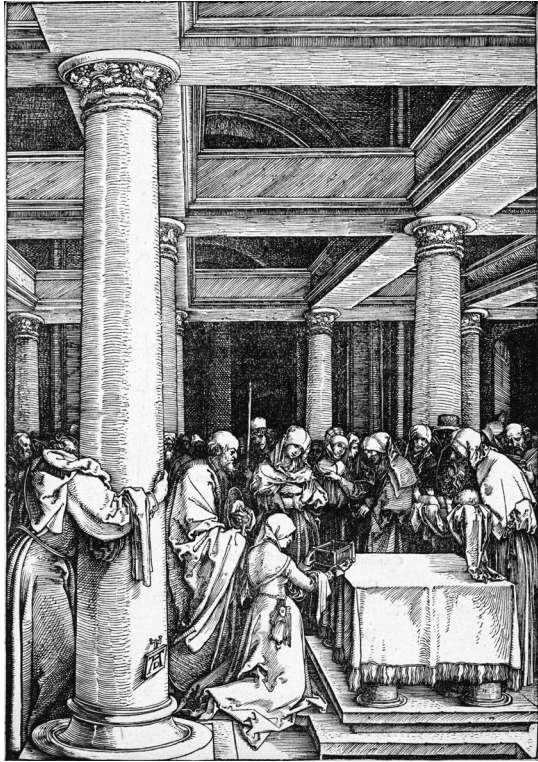


ill. 6: Presentation, *Book of Hours*, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 43

The illuminations of Wittert 29 thus fit closely, both in terms of execution and use of models, with the miniatures produced by the workshop in the 1520s. Where the manuscript evidently differs from those studied by Orth is not only in the quality and style of the script, as noted above, but also in the strapwork panels that support the text and in the elaborate surrounding frames. The borders found in other Bellemare Books of Hours, although by no means homogeneous, are relatively simple, consisting of “solidly three-dimensional combinations of classical details: swags, pilasters, capitals, and cornices” that derive from the style developed by artists working in Tours around Jean Bourdichon and the Master of Claude de France (see ill. 2).²² By contrast, the frames of Wittert 29 reveal the influence of the mannerist art first produced in France for Francis I’s castle of Fontainebleau by Italian artists Rosso and Primaticcio in the 1530s and 1540s. Characteristic of the deco-

Parisian artists, such as Jean Cousin. See her commentary in *Les enluminures du Louvre: moyen âge et renaissance*, ed. by François Avril, Nicole Reynaud and Dominique Cordellier, Paris, 2011, no. 133, pp. 252–53.

22 Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts”, p. 43.



ill. 7: Albrecht Dürer, engraving, *Presentation*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.698-1940

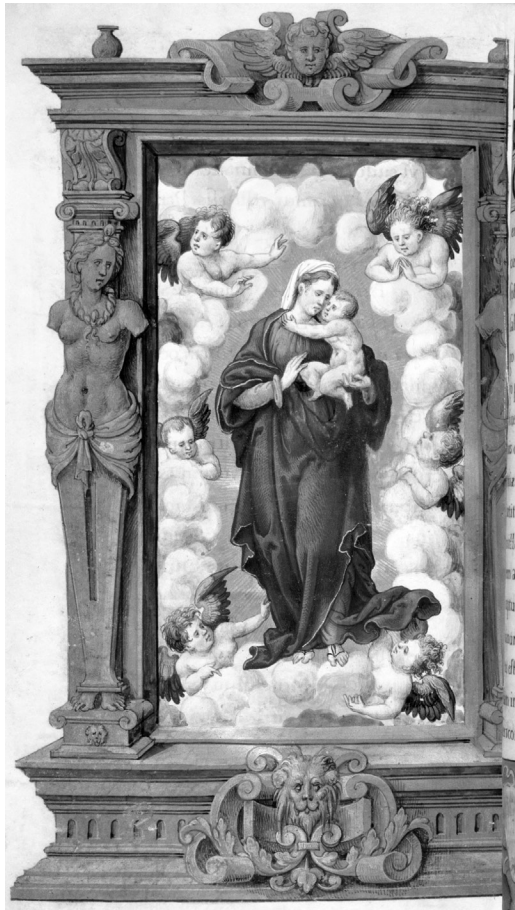


ill. 8: *Crucifixion (detail)*, *Book of Hours*, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 31

ration of Fontainebleau were the “monumental caryatid figures, decorative motifs, putti, garlands, cartouches with subsidiary low-relief scenes, and royal emblems” and the use of strapwork “in which the stucco is shaped to resemble rolled and cut pieces of leather”.²³ The Liège borders include many of these elements and, with the strapwork text panels, are so elaborate that the miniatures are reduced to occupying just one half to two thirds of the page. By contrast, in the 1520s *horae*, miniatures are often full page, without any text.²⁴ They are also invariably paired with a facing page border of fruit and flowers on a gold ground, a feature which also looks back to the work of Touraine artists, and which is entirely absent from the Wittert manuscript. In comparison to the Books of Hours discussed by Orth, then, the illuminated section of Wittert 29 appears to be an anomaly, combining compositional models from the 1520s with borders that date some fifteen to twenty years later. However, Orth, Leproux and others have argued that the hands of some of the artists who worked

23 Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures*, Antwerp, 1995, p. 44. Rosso arrived in France in late 1530 and Primaticcio in 1532 and according to Cox-Rearick, “[t]he stuccoes [in the Galerie François Ier] were completed first (in the spring of 1537 at the latest) and the paintings in 1539” (p. 43).

24 The *Rosenwald Hours* and the Hours in the British Library do have examples of text beneath the main miniature but this is not presented in the same way as in Wittert 29.



ill. 9: *Virgin and Child*, *Dutuit Hours*, Paris, *Petit Palais*, fol. 136v



ill. 10: *Francis I enthroned*, at the beginning of his reign, *Recueil des Rois de France*, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2848, fol. 150

on the 1520s Books of Hours are also found in manuscripts dating from the 1530 to the 1550s, often in collaboration with other artists.²⁵ If we further compare the Liège manuscript to these and some other sources, Wittert 29 begins not only to take its place in the corpus, but also to raise questions about the workshop's production beyond the first third of the early sixteenth century.

Beyond the 1520s

In the mid-sixteenth century a group of luxurious manuscripts were made for prominent members of the French nobility, including the so-called *Hours of Henri II*, the *Hours of Anne de Montmorency*, the *Hours of Claude de Guise* and two copies of the *Statuts de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*.²⁶ Orth and Thierry Crépin-Leblond identified miniatures by

25 Orth and Thierry Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux. La peinture de manuscrits à la cour de France au temps de Henri II*, Écouen, 1993, pp. 8–10.

26 *Hours of Henri II*: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1429 available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bty1b8447767x.r=Heures+de+Henri+II.langEN> (accessed 7 November 2013); *Hours of*

the hand of the Master of the Getty Epistles in these manuscripts.²⁷ They also identified another hand, the Master of Henri II, to whom they attribute miniatures in the *Hours of Henri II*, as well as in the *Dinteville Hours*.²⁸ In an article co-authored with Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Orth noted that the miniatures in another royal manuscript, the *Recueil des rois de France*, presented by Jean du Tillet to Charles IX in 1566, show close links with the *Hours of Henri II* and the *Dinteville Hours*, suggesting that these may also be the work of the Master of Henri II.²⁹ Leproux has recently proposed that the close collaboration of the Getty Master and the Master of Henri II has led to the confusion of their hands and that certain miniatures previously attributed to the Getty Master should be assigned to the Master of Henri II.³⁰ Following Leproux's argument, this would conceivably allow the Getty Master to be equated with Bellemare, since miniatures that have previously been assigned to his hand, but which post-date Bellemare's death in 1546, would in fact be the work of the Master of Henri II.³¹ The notion of a successor to Bellemare who worked in an almost indistinguishable way may well be

Anne de Montmorency: Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1476; *Hours of Claude de Guise*: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 654 available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bty1b8596871g.r=Heures+de+Claude+de+Guise.langEN> (accessed 7 November 2013); *Statuts de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 4 and Manchester, John Rylands Library, French ms. 141 (images available via the JRULM image collections). On the adaptation of the *Hours of Henri II* for this king, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Les Heures dites de Henri II et les Heures de Dinteville", in *Henri II et les arts. Actes du colloque international, École du Louvre et musée national de la Renaissance, Éconen, 25, 26, 27 septembre 1997*, ed. by Hervé Oursel and Julia Frisch, Paris, 2003, pp. 261–92.

27 Orth and Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, p. 8.

28 *Dinteville Hours*: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 10558 available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bty1b8447764p.r=Heures+de+Dinteville.langEN> (accessed 7 November 2013)

29 *Recueil des rois de France*: Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2848; Orth and Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Jean du Tillet et les Illustrations du grand *Recueil des roys*", *Revue de l'art*, 115 (1997), pp. 7–24 (p. 12). They note: "Les similitudes sont particulièrement étroites entre les illustrations du *Recueil* et celles des *Heures Dinteville*, ce qui incite à attribuer le portraits du *Recueil* au Maître d'Henri II" (p. 12).

30 Leproux, "Le peintre et l'enluminure", pp. 63–65.

31 For instance, according to Leproux in "Le peintre et l'enluminure", the Getty Master/Bellemare painted all the miniatures in the *Hours of Henri II* (which Orth and Crépin-Leblond divided between the Getty Master and the Master of Henri II) except 'some of' the monochrome images (he cites *Moses and the Serpent*, *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* and *Three Hebrews in the Furnace*) as well as the miniature of *Henri II Healing the King's Evil* (the latter miniature being added to the Hours when it was personalised for Henri II, see Brown, "Les Heures dites de Henri II"). Leproux argues these four miniatures show borrowings from Jean Cousin. It is not clear if he assigns all seven monochrome images in the *Hours of Henri II* to a collaborator of Bellemare. See Leproux, "Le peintre et l'enluminure", pp. 63–65. The link with Cousin is discussed below.



ill. 11: *Annunciation (detail)*, *Book of Hours*,
Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 8v



ill. 12: *Adoration of the Magi*, *Book of Hours*,
Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 40

crucial to the identification of the Wittert artist, but what is important to note at this stage is that artists associated with the workshop and using its models continued output into the 1540s and 1550s. These later manuscripts also reveal the influence of the decoration of Fontainebleau in their use of cartouches, animal heads, and bunches of fruit in their borders. Yet, the borders in manuscripts such as the *Hours of Henri II*, are often composed of an embellished rectangle, rather than an architectural structure with a pedestal, columns or statues and architrave as they are in Wittert 29. Closer to the Liège manuscript frames are those found on certain folios of the *Recueil des rois de France*. Although still based on a rectangular rather than an architectural composition, the borders on folios 90, 121v and 150 of the *Recueil* depict bunches of fruit and centaur-like, or half-human, figures whose lower bodies terminate in the form of a statue or pedestal, a feature found in several of the Wittert frames. Thus, the figures either side of the young Francis I (ill. 10) can be compared to, for instance, those flanking the Wittert *Presentation* or the *Annunciation* (ills. 6 and 11), particularly the figures with the slightly open mouth and the hint of a frown indicated by the tensed eyebrows. Several well-known and

well-studied manuscripts made for royal patrons in the 1540s and 1550s that make use of Bellemare models thus provide some contemporary context and parallels for the otherwise unusual frames in Wittert 29.

Comparison of the Liège manuscript with printed books of the same period shows that the types of frames found in Wittert 29 were also being produced by artists for printers.³² A Book of Hours printed for Guillaume Merlin in 1548, and known only in one copy, has frames of a similar design and format to Wittert 29, incorporating figures on the vertical sides which are of the half-human, half-pillar type found in the Liège manuscript and the *Recueil des rois de France*.³³ The armless figures emerging from pedestals with their hoods of animal skins that frame the *Merlin Hours' Annunciation to the Shepherds* bear a close resemblance to the figures framing Wittert 29's *Adoration of the Magi* (ill. 12).³⁴ Furthermore, the lozenges and grotesque faces as well as the baskets of fruit that emerge from the top of figures' heads or which are suspended on a garland at the top of the page are also found in both books. The artist of these blocks is unknown but in the sixteenth century it was not uncommon for illuminators to produce woodcuts designs for printers. One artist to whom comparable woodcut designs have been attributed is Jean Cousin, who contributed two illuminations to the *Hours of Anne de Montmorency*, a manuscript which also includes miniatures produced by a Bellemare collaborator.³⁵ Cousin is thought to be the artist of the prints in *L'amour de Cupido et de Psyché* published in Paris by Jeanne de Marnef Janot in 1546 which contain strapwork cartouches as well as statuesque figures, grotesque heads, and bunches of fruit.³⁶ Furthermore, Leproux has recently explored the links between Cousin and Bellemare, drawing precisely on some of the manuscripts discussed here to raise the possibility that the two artists either worked together or shared common models.³⁷ Cousin is evidently not the artist of Wittert 29, since his style is markedly different. Yet the genesis of Wittert 29 is,

32 Orth and Brown ("Jean du Tillet", p. 9), note that frames of French manuscripts produced in the 1550s show the influence of the designs of Fontainebleau, which were quickly disseminated in print.

33 Private collection; three images reproduced in Heribert Tenschert and Ina Nettekoven, *Horae B.M.V: 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490–1550*, 3 vols., Ramsen and Rotthalmünster, 2003, III, no. 141, pp. 1164–68.

34 Compare also the s-shaped base of the faun-like figure and his companion surrounding St John on Patmos with the right-hand figure of the Wittert *Visitation*.

35 *Hours of Anne de Montmorency*: Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1476; see Elizabeth Brown, "Madeleine de Savoie and the Chantilly Hours of Anne de Montmorency", in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James Marrow, London and Turnhout, 2013, pp. 431–68. Cousin painted *Susannah and the Elders* (fol. 40v) and *Judas Maccabeus* (fol. 78v). I am grateful to Professor Brown for sharing this article with me prior to its publication.

36 See Ruth Mortimer, ed., *Harvard College Library. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part I French 16th Century Books*, Cambridge, 1964, vol. I, no. 33.

37 Leproux, "Jean Cousin et le vitrail", pp. 106–11.

I would argue, clearly a result of the artistic milieu of the 1540s in which associates of Bellemare continued to draw on models dating from the 1520s but also collaborated, as Leproux has suggested, with later artists such as Cousin in a variety of media.

Bellifontaine Frames

In the final section of this article I want to consider in some detail two more manuscripts that may narrow down the context in which Wittert 29 was produced. In her original article, Orth discussed the *Dutuit Hours*, now housed in the Petit Palais in Paris, and which she assigned to the Doheny Master.³⁸ In a footnote she indicated that it also contained “three miniatures and three vignettes of the 1540s” without giving any further details.³⁹ She later stated in *Livres d'heures royaux* that the miniatures from folios 103v to 136v of the *Dutuit Hours* date to 1540 “d’après leur style et leurs encadrements”.⁴⁰ Orth’s claim that this section of the manuscript is later on the basis of the style of the frames is in one sense problematic since the frames around the miniature of *Job and his Friends* on fol. 103v and around *Job and the Musicians* on fol. 117v are no different from those found earlier in the manuscript, such as on fol. 72v surrounding the *Coronation of the Virgin*, and conform to those found in many other Bellemare Group manuscripts. However, the frames around the miniatures of *Job and Satan* (ill. 13; fol. 126v) and the *Virgin and Child* (ill. 9; fol. 136v) contain the same kind of cartouches, animal heads and framing figures that appear not only in the royal manuscripts discussed above, but also, for instance, in the frame of the Liège *Annunciation* (ill. 11). Does this mean that the *Dutuit Hours* were completed in two separate campaigns, first in the 1520s and then in the 1540s? This is presumably possible, although the *Job and Satan* and *Virgin and Child* folios do not appear to have been added as after thoughts to the manuscript but are an integral part of its iconographic and textual contents.⁴¹ It may be more likely that the *Dutuit Hours* were started later, in the late 1530s or 1540s, thus allowing for the incorporation not only of the 1520s-style frames and miniatures, but also the ‘new’ bellifontaine models, which were then used throughout the Liège manuscript. Furthermore, the differences in style in the *Dutuit Hours* may also be explained by the involvement of more than one artist.

38 Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection, ms. 37. A series of images, including those discussed here, are available online at <http://www.petitpalais.paris.fr/en/collections/1506/hore-beate-virginis-mariae-heures-dutuit> (accessed 7 November 2013).

39 Orth, “French Renaissance Manuscripts”, no. 29.

40 Orth and Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, no. 36.

41 For instance, the miniature of *Job and Satan* is the last of three images that open Vespers, Matins, and Lauds of the Office of the Dead. Due to the tight binding it is not possible to map the collation of the *Dutuit Hours*, which might otherwise reveal more about its execution. Scaillièrez has argued that the similarity in execution of all paintings in the *Dutuit Hours* would imply they were all painted around the same time. See *Cat. Louvre*, p. 248.

It seems likely that there are certainly two if not three hands at work in the *Dutuit Hours* and that the miniatures found in what Orth called the ‘later’ section (fols. 103v–136v) are certainly not all by the same hand. For instance, the difference in execution between *Job and his Friends* and the two other Job miniatures is immediately striking. I would tentatively propose that a group of miniatures distributed throughout the *Dutuit Hours* (*Pentecost*, *King David*, *Job and Satan*, *Job and the Musicians*, and the *Virgin and Child*) may be by the same hand, which has close similarities to that of Wittert 29. There is a certain movement to these Dutuit miniatures created by the painterly rendering of the curled, wispy hair that blows back or away from a parting and many of the figures have slightly raised eyebrows giving the figures a somewhat quizzical expression (ill. 9, 13). The rendering of the hair contrasts significantly to the beards of the kneeling king in the *Adoration of the Magi* (ill. 14) and the figure of Simeon in the *Presentation*, where the hair is much smoother and straighter. Furthermore, the Virgins in the *Dutuit Annunciation* and *Visitation* seem to have more in common with the Virgin in the *Annunciation* of Walters 449, which Orth assigned to the Master of Jean de Mauléon, than with the *Dutuit* Virgin on folio 136v (ill. 9).⁴² The quizzical expressions and the windswept hair (with the individual curls defined by the use of strong highlights) that are found in the *Dutuit* miniatures noted above are features of the male figures in the Wittert *Presentation* (ill. 6) and in the figure of Joseph in the *Flight into Egypt* (ill. 15) for instance. Evidently, a full reconsideration of the hands involved in the *Dutuit Hours* and/or a rapprochement of these with the hand(s) in Wittert 29 is beyond the scope of this article. However, such a study should also factor in miniatures attributed to the Getty Master/Bellemare and his close associate (the Master of Henri II?), as well as a two leaves in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, since these also offer points for comparison, such as the vigorous rendering of hair.⁴³

A further manuscript whose location is currently unknown promises – if it ever resurfaces to allow a full study to be undertaken – to offer the biggest clue to understanding the Liège manuscript and Bellemare production in the 1540s. This tiny Book of Hours (66 x 42 mm), once in the collection of Paul Durrieu, was exhibited by Richard Day in London and New York in 1990 and all twelve full page miniatures were reproduced in its catalogue.⁴⁴ It was then put up for sale at Sotheby’s in 1995 where it

42 In “French Renaissance Manuscripts” Orth assigned Walters 449 to the Master of Jean de Mauléon. Images of Walters 449 are available at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Book_of_hours_by_Jean_de_Mauleon_%28Walters_MA:449%29 (accessed 7 November 2013).

43 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, no. 1757 (*Vision of Isaiah*) and no. 4652 (*Woman of the Apocalypse*).

44 Richard Day Ltd, *Master Drawings and Manuscripts: An Exhibition of European Drawings and Manuscripts, 1480–1880*, London and New York, 1990.



ill. 13: *Job and Satan*, Dutuit Hours, Paris, Petit Palais, fol. 126v



ill. 14: *Adoration of the Magi*, Dutuit Hours, Paris, Petit Palais, fol. 60v

did not sell.⁴⁵ It appears that Orth was aware of this manuscript since the Day catalogue cites correspondence with her in which she noted the manuscript's "sister" in Liège and its similarities to the *Morgan Hours* and the *Hours of Anne of Austria*.⁴⁶ The catalogue also notes that the manuscript has the same arrangement of *cordelières* and knots around the text pages which are found in the *Morgan*, *Anne of Austria*, *Dutuit*, and *Fitzwilliam Hours*.⁴⁷

45 Sotheby's, London, 20 June 1995. The *Flight into Egypt*, *King David in Prayer* and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* were printed in the sale catalogue. A full (though occasionally erroneous) description is given in both Sotheby's and Day's catalogues. The author has made several attempts to contact the last known owners of this manuscript through Sotheby's but to no avail.

46 Day, *Master Drawings*, cat. 1 (unnumbered pages: first page of text). Reference to letter from Orth on 16 April 1990.

47 Day, *Master Drawings*, cat. 1, first page of text. *Fitzwilliam Hours*: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 134.



ill. 15: *Flight into Egypt*, *Book of Hours*, Liège University Library, ms. Wittert 29, fol. 46

The manuscript also has two decorative title pages enclosing gold text on a black ground and which Christopher de Hamel, the author of the Sotheby's catalogue notice, linked to those found in the *Hours of Henri II* and suggests were added in the mid sixteenth century (ill. 16). De Hamel describes what I have termed here the Durrieu manuscript as a work of the Doheny Master, to whom Orth assigned the Dutuit Hours, as we have already seen, as well as several other *horae*.⁴⁸

Despite the difference in size, the manuscript's similarity with the Liège manuscript is remarkable, both in terms of the frames and the design of the miniatures, to judge by the photographs in the catalogues. The *Coronation* and the *Flight into Egypt* are practically identical with those in the Liège manuscript.⁴⁹ The elaborate

48 Orth, "French Renaissance Manuscripts", p. 58. Christopher de Hamel must have drawn on the Day catalogue in writing the Sotheby's entry since he not only notes the association with the Liège manuscript but also refers to Jean Porcher's claim that the manuscript once belonged to Henri II, which is also cited in Day: "We have spoken to Jean Durrieu who tells us that Porcher, [...] who organised the 1955 exhibition of the Durrieu collection, told François Avril that he thought the manuscript belonged to Henry II [...] and was prepared for his mourning" (fourth page of text). Dr de Hamel informs me that he has not seen the Liège manuscript (private correspondence 23 April 2013).

49 Other miniatures in the Durrieu manuscript are closer to compositions found in the *Hours of Anne of Austria* and the *British Library Hours* (the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* for instance) and the *Dutuit Hours* (*Pentecost*).



ill. 16: Title page and David Penitent, formerly Durrien collection, whereabouts unknown



ill. 17: Annunciation to the Shepherds, formerly Durrien collection, whereabouts unknown

gold frames with their statuesque caryatids, scrolls, and cartouches with animal and human heads also derive from the same models which have their parallels in the printed examples discussed earlier. For instance, the frame of David penitent in the Durrieu manuscript (ill. 16) shows an armless and bare-breasted female figure similar to those found in the Wittert *Adoration of the Magi*, *Pentecost*, and *Flight into Egypt* (ills. 12, 1, 15). Similarly, the right hand female figure flanking the Wittert *Presentation* (ill. 6), although having more detail on the upper part of the body, has the same inward-curving scrolls below her waist that enclose a lion's head as in the Durrieu *Coronation of the Virgin*. Furthermore, the figure in profile that frames the Durrieu *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (ill. 17) is exactly the same as that framing the Wittert *Visitation* (ill. 3); and the ornamental pillar on the right hand side of the Durrieu *Visitation* reproduces the one on the left hand side of the *Dutuit's Job and Satan* (ill. 11). A further aspect of the Durrieu manuscript which chimes with Wittert 29 more than any of the other examples discussed here is the use of white strapwork panels with scrolling edges or cut-out sections for the presentation of text. These are necessarily smaller, due to the size of the manuscript, and only appear below (rather than also above) the miniatures, although they are also used on preceding folios to announce the Hour, as on folio 38v "Ad Primam" (ill. 17).

It is difficult to insist on these parallels or to take them any further without being able to consult the Durrieu manuscript. Nevertheless, considering Wittert 29 alongside the *Dutuit Hours*, the Durrieu manuscript, the *Recueil des rois de France*, and the printed *Merlin Hours* reveals that it is less of an anomaly than it might first appear. The uneven and erroneous script of Wittert 29 does remain perplexing given the quality of the miniatures; we can only hypothesise about the circumstances that led to the illuminated section being separated from the rest of its folios and then joined with those in Hand A. Yet despite its incomplete state, Wittert 29 provides further evidence of the activity of Bellemare-trained artists in the mid-sixteenth century and, specifically, shows how they turned their hand to a specific type of bellifontaine-style frame that contrasts quite significantly with the rectangular frames of manuscripts like the *Hours of Henri II* and the *Hours of Anne de Montmorency*. Whether the artist of Wittert 29, once named the "Assistant of the Master of the Getty Epistles" by Orth, deserves another appellation remains to be seen. Certainly, however, further analysis of Wittert 29 in relation to manuscripts like the *Dutuit Hours* and the *Recueil des rois de France*, as well as printed material, should lead to a better understanding of the artists who were giving their own twist to the Bellemare style beyond the 1520s and into the 1540s.

Codicology of Liège, ms. Wittert 29

Ms. Wittert 29 measures 14 x 8,8cm and corresponds broadly to the table of dimensions of eleven other Books of Hours discussed by Orth in "French Renaissance Manuscripts". It is almost exactly the same size as London, British Library, Ms. Add. 35318. It is ruled with nineteen lines for eighteen lines of script per page (the other Hours vary between 20 and 23). Two paper fly leaves (A–B) precede a parchment fly–leaf (C) the conjugate of which was pasted down on to the binding, and which is now covered with a paper paste–down stamped with the ex–libris of Baron Wittert.

| Codicology | Text | Hand | Illustrations |
|---------------------|---|------|-----------------------------|
| Quire 1: fol. 1–2 | fol. 1–2v <i>Domine Jesu Christe adoro te vulneratum...</i> fol. 2v <i>Obsecro te</i> | A | space for 12-line miniature |
| Quire 2: fol. 3–6 | fol. 3–6r continuation of <i>Obsecro te</i> fol. 6v blank | A | |
| Quire 3: fol. 7–14 | fol. 7–v <i>Initium sancti evanglii. Secundum Iohannem. In principio...</i> fol. 7v–8r Antiphon <i>Te invocamus..</i> followed by <i>Protector in te sperantum</i> prayer and rubric <i>Hore intemerate virginis marie secundum usum Romanum incipiunt feliciter Ad matutinas [sic]</i> fol. 8v <i>Domine labia mea...</i> [Matins] | B | Annunciation |
| Quire 4: fol. 15–22 | fol. 15–21v continuation of Matins fol. 22 End of Matins in scroll above miniature; rubric <i>Ad laudes de beata maria;</i> beneath miniature <i>Deus in adiutorium meum...</i> [Lauds] | B | Visitation |
| Quire 5: fol. 23–30 | fol. 23–30 continuation of Lauds | B | |

Codicology of Liège, Wittert Ms. 29

| | | | |
|---------------------|--|---|--|
| | fol. 30 <i>Sequuntur hore de sancta cruce</i> ; rubric <i>Ad matutinas Domine labia...</i> [Hours of the Cross] | | |
| Quire 6: fol. 31–38 | fol. 31 in scroll beneath miniature <i>Salve crux preciosa...</i> fol. 32 in scroll beneath miniature <i>Hore de spiritus sanctus [sic]</i> [Hours of the Holy Spirit] fol. 33 in scroll beneath miniature <i>Deus in adjutorium meum...</i> [Prime] fol. 37 in scroll above miniature ... <i>cernantibus celis elevatus...</i> [end of Prime of the Holy Spirit] rubric <i>Ad terciam</i> ; in scroll below <i>Deus in adjutorium meum...</i> | B | Crucifixion Pentecost Nativity Annunciation to the Shepherds |
| Quire 7: fol. 39–46 | fol. 40 in scroll above miniature... <i>penthecostes suos confortavit</i> [end of Terce of the Holy Spirit] <i>Ad sextam</i> [sic for sextam]; in scroll below miniature <i>Deus in adjutorium meum...</i> [Sext] fol. 43 in scroll beneath miniature, rubric <i>Ad nonam de beata maria</i> , and <i>Deus in adjutorium...</i> [Nones] fol. 46 in text box above miniature ... <i>gratia charisma vocatus...</i> [end of nones of the Holy Spirit]; in text box below miniature <i>Deus in adjutorium meum...</i> [Vespers] | B | Adoration of the Magi Presentation in the Temple Flight into Egypt |

| | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|
| Quire 8: fol. 47–54 | fol. 47–51v continuation of Vespers fol. 52 in scroll above miniature ... misisti. Qui vivis... [end of preceding prayer] and rubric Ad complete/tio [sic] de beata maria [Compline] fol. 54v [Nunc dimittis] last word <i>Lu</i> , catchword <i>men</i> [Lumen] | B | Coronation of the Virgin |
| Quire 9: fol. 55–62 | fol. 55 first word <i>men</i> fol. 57 Opening of Penitential Psalms | A | Space for 12-line miniature |
| Quire 10: fol. 63–66 | fol. 66v <i>Letania</i> [Litany]; list of archangels includes Uriel | A | |
| Quire 11: fol. 67–68 | fol. 68 <i>Libera nos</i> – highly abbreviated | A | |
| Singleton: fol. 69 | <i>Libera nos</i> continued | A | Space for two-line initials |
| Quire 12: fol. 70–73 | fol. 70–72 incomplete prayers in French with their Latin beginning <i>que je suis votre</i> <i>serviteur</i> fol. 72v–73v blank | C | |